

bill. If we are going to vote, to put Congress first and make sure Congress does not have to shut down and take the same lumps that the rest of the Federal Government and the rest of the public does, at least give the public lobby reform. Let us vote on lobby reform today. It is very easy and it is very, very simple. Ban the trips, ban the gifts, ban the free meals.

Mr. Speaker, I have taken the lobby reform pledge. I have voluntarily taken on and agreed to abide by the provisions of the lobby reform package, even though it is not the law. This House can do the same thing today. Therefore, I would just call upon the Republican leadership and the Speaker, first of all, to schedule something else. Get some other bills moving that mean something to the public besides Congress' appropriation.

The second thing: If we are going to bring Congress' appropriation to the floor today, please put lobby reform on it. End the free trips, end the junkets, end the meals, end the guests, end the bad perception. Bring some reform to this Congress.

Finally, third, if I could just get time for one more, Mr. Speaker, could we do campaign finance reform? We have heard a lot of talk about it. There was a great handshake out there in New Hampshire 8 to 10 months ago; but how about real campaign finance reform to make it easier for challengers? I voluntarily agreed to limit the campaign spending that I do. I voluntarily take the voluntary campaign pledge that our Secretary of State in West Virginia issues every election season. Congress, though, ought to be willing to pass this for the entire country, and so make it easier for challengers, make it easier for the public, and make sure that the money chase ends.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me just urge the Members today, do not make the first thing Congress does when it comes back into session to pass its own bill for its own appropriation to feather its own nest. If we are going to do that, Mr. Speaker, I would urge, please let us have lobby reform: End the trips, end the junkets, end the free meals, and finally begin to restore some faith in this congressional system, and particularly, in this House of Representatives.

COMMENDING HILLARY CLINTON AND MADELEINE ALBRIGHT FOR STRONG STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE U.N. FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to address the House on this very important day. I rise to commend First Lady Hillary Clinton and our Ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, for the strong statements

that they made at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women. Mr. Speaker, I rise as one who opposed Beijing as the venue for this important conference. I still think it was a most unfortunate choice.

I rise as one who does not think that the United Nations has been strong enough in enforcing its own rules in terms of open participation for women in the conference. The United Nations did not do enough, whether we are talking about the accreditation of women from Taiwan and Tibet, or women who are concerned about women's and human rights in those countries. The United Nations did not do enough in regard to people that the Chinese just did not want into that conference because their countries recognize Taiwan; for example, the representatives from Niger.

However, Mr. Speaker, what I really want to call to the attention of our colleagues are the strong statements made by the two leaders of our delegation. I strongly supported a high-powered delegation to the Beijing conference. I strenuously opposed the attendance by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. I did so because I thought it was not possible for her to attend the conference and make the strong statement that she made.

Indeed, Hillary Rodham Clinton's statements, are the strongest statements made on human rights in China, in Asia, and in the world by this administration to date. I am very, very proud that the women of the Clinton administration are taking such a strong stand on this very important issue.

The First Lady, in Beijing, very courageously stood up and broke the silence on sterilization and forced abortions in a country where that is the policy. Therefore, I say in the spirit of commendation to the First Lady and to Ambassador Albright that when they said they would not mince words when they went to China, that they would make the statements that would be necessary, they, indeed, did. I commend them for that.

It is shameful, I think, that such an important conference on the rights of women and the economic future of women and families was held in a country with such an appalling human rights record. The strong statements of these members of the U.S. delegation made it clear that our Nation must not waiver from its commitment to personal and political freedom to equal rights and equal opportunity.

The First Lady, in her remarks, was eloquent in her defense of the principles of women's rights and human rights, and she spent a great deal of her time talking about how advancing women's rights would strengthen families throughout the world. She emphasized how that strengthening families, building families, was what was important in strengthening societies throughout the world.

The First Lady reaffirmed and supported the conference's main themes of economic and educational opportunity, health care, and protecting women against violence. Again, the First Lady and the Ambassador did not mince words of protest over repression, ignorance, abuse, and torture while the Chinese Government looked on. We have been told that the Chinese Government has not reported on the First Lady's speech, but we do know that the word will get out.

As one who has opposed the First Lady's attendance, I want to commend her for her outstanding courage for breaking the silence on human rights in China, for breaking the silence on sterilization and forced abortion in China. There are many in this body who opposed the conference itself. I do not include myself among them, because I believe that the conference is a very important one. I think that some of those who opposed the conference and opposed the First Lady's attendance did so because of China's forced abortion policy.

I look forward to working with those colleagues, as some of us have been working together in the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations of the Committee on Appropriations and in other committees of this House, to improve the lot of the women in the world by improving their health. The First Lady talked about women's health, she talked about violence against women, she talked about child survival, she talked about the spread of AIDS and how rapidly it is spreading among women in the developing countries.

I look forward to continuing my work with our colleagues on this subject, and certainly working with the Clinton administration on those areas where more common ground has now been laid by the First Lady, and where more opportunity has been presented by this very important conference which called attention to these issues.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to place into the RECORD the two statements, by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, and the remarks before the World Health Organization, as well as the statement of our Ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador Madeleine Albright. She was a great participant in the conference, she represented our country very excellently, as she always does. I am very pleased to put Ambassador Albright's very strong statement on human rights, indeed, basic freedoms for all people, men and women, in the RECORD of this Congress.

The material referred to follows:

AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS—REMARKS TO THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

BEIJING INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CENTER, BEIJING, CHINA, SEPTEMBER 6, 1995

Honored guests, fellow delegates and observers, I am pleased and proud to address this historic conference on behalf of the United States of America.

My government congratulates the thousands who have helped to organize the conference, to draft the Platform for Action, to inform the world about the subjects under discussion here and to encourage wide participation both by governments and NGO's.

We have come here from all over the world to carry forward an age-old struggle: the pursuit of economic and social progress for all people, based on respect for the dignity and value of each.

We are here to promote and protect human rights and to stress that women's rights are neither separable nor different from those of men.

We are here to stop sexual crimes and other violence against women; to protect refugees, so many of whom are women; and to end the despicable notion—in this era of conflicts—that rape is just another tactic of war.

We are here to empower women by enlarging their role in making economic and political decisions, an idea some find radical, but which my government believes is essential to economic and social progress around the world; because no country can develop if half its human resources are de-valued or repressed.

We are here because we want to strengthen families, the heart and soul of any society. We believe that girls must be valued to the same degree as boys. We believe, with Pope John Paul II, in the "equality of spouses with respect to family rights". We think women and men should be able to make informed judgments as they plan their families. And we want to see forces that weaken families—including pornography, domestic violence and the sexual exploitation of children—condemned and curtailed.

Finally, we have come to this conference to assure for women equal access to education and health care, to help women protect against infection by HIV, to recognize the special needs and strengths of women with disabilities, and to attack the root causes of poverty, in which so many women, children and men are entrapped.

We have come to Beijing to make further progress towards each of these goals. But real progress depend not on what we say here, but on what we do after we leave her. The Fourth World Conference for Women is not about conversations; it is about commitments.

For decades, my nation has led efforts to promote equal rights for women. Women in their varied roles—as moshers, farm laborers, factory workers, organizers and community leaders helped build America. My government is based on principles that recognize the right of every person to equal rights and equal opportunity. Our laws forbid discrimination on the basis of sex and we work hard to enforce those laws. A rich network of non-governmental organizations has blossomed within our borders, reaching out to women and girls from all segments of society, educating, counseling and advocating change.

The United States is a leader, but leaders cannot stand still. Barriers to the equal participation of women persist in my country. The Clinton Administration is determined to bring those barriers down.

Today, in the spirit of this conference, and in the knowledge that concrete steps to advance the status of women are required in every nation, I am pleased to announce the new commitments my government will undertake:

First, President Clinton will establish a White House Council on Women to plan for the effective implementation within the United States of the Platform for Action. That Council will build on the commitments made today and will work every day with the nongovernmental community.

Second, in accordance with recently-approved law, the Department of Justice will launch a six-year, \$1.6 billion initiative to fight domestic violence and other crimes against women. Funds will be used for specialized police and prosecution units and to train police, prosecutors and judicial personnel.

Third, our Department of Health and Human Services will lead a comprehensive assault on threats to the health and security of women—promoting healthy behavior, increasing awareness about AIDS, discouraging the use of cigarettes, and striving to win the battle against breast cancer.

And, as Mrs. Clinton made clear yesterday, the United States remains firmly committed to the reproductive health rights gains made in Cairo.

Fourth, our Department of Labor will conduct a grassroots campaign to improve conditions for women in the workplace. The campaign will work with employers to develop more equitable pay and promotion policies and to help employees balance the twin responsibilities of family and work.

Fifth, our Department of the Treasury will take new steps to promote access to financial credit for women. Outstanding U.S. microenterprise lending organizations will be honored through special Presidential awards and we will improve coordination of federal efforts to encourage growth in this field of central importance to the economic empowerment of women.

Sixth, the Agency for International Development will continue to lead in promoting and recognizing the vital role of women in development. Today, we announce important initiatives to increase women's participation in political processes and to promote the enforcement of women's legal rights.

There is a seventh and final commitment my country is making today. We, the people and government of the United States of America, will continue to speak out openly and without hesitation on behalf of the human rights of all people.

My country is proud that, nearly, a half century ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, a former First Lady of the United States, helped draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are proud that, yesterday afternoon, in this very hall, our current First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton—re-stated with memorable eloquence our national commitment to that Declaration.

The Universal Declaration reflects spiritual and moral tenets which are central to all cultures, encompassing both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us. It obliges each government to strive in law and practice to protect the rights of those under its jurisdiction. Whether a government fulfills that obligation is a matter not simply of domestic, but of universal, concern. For it is a funding principle of the United Nations that no government can hide its human rights record from the world.

At the heart of the Universal Declaration is a fundamental distinction between coercion and choice.

No woman—whether in Birmingham, Bombay, Beirut or Beijing—should be forcibly sterilized or forced to have an abortion.

No mother should feel compelled to abandon her daughter because of a societal preference for males.

No woman should be forced to undergo genital mutilation, or to become a prostitute, or to enter into marriage or to have sex.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

All of us should be able to exercise control over the course of our own lives and be able to help shape the destiny of our communities and countries.

Let us be clear. Freedom to participate in the political process of our countries is the inalienable right of every woman and man. Deny that right, and you deny everything.

It is unconscionable, therefore, that the right to free expression has been called into question right here, at a conference conducted under the auspices of the UN and whose very purpose is the free and open discussion of women's rights.

And it is a challenge to us all that so many countries in so many parts of the world—north, south, west and east—fall far short of the noble objectives outlined in the Platform for Action.

Every nation, including my own, must do better and do more—to make equal rights a fundamental principle of law; to enforce those rights and to remove barriers to the exercise of those rights.

That is why President Clinton has made favorable action on the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women a top priority. The United States should be a party to that Convention.

And it is why we will continue to seek a dialogue with governments—here and elsewhere—that deny to their citizens the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration.

In preparing for this conference, I came across an old Chinese poem that is worth recalling, especially today, as we observe the Day of the Girl-Child. In the poem, a father says to his daughter:

We keep a dog to watch the house,

A pig is useful, too,

We keep a cat to catch a mouse,

But what can we do with a girl like you?

Fellow delegates, let us make sure that question never needs to be asked again—in China or anywhere else around the world.

Let us strive for the day when every young girl, in every village and metropolis, can look ahead with confidence that their lives will be valued, their individually recognized, their rights protected and their futures determined by their own abilities and character.

Let us reject outright the forces of repression and ignorance that have held us back; and act with the strength and optimism unity can provide.

Let us honor the legacy of the heroines, famous and unknown who struggled in years past to build the platform upon which we now stand.

And let us heed the instruction of our own lives. Look around this hall, and you will see women who have reached positions of owner and authority. Go to Huairou, and you will see an explosion of energy and intelligence devoted to every phase of struggle. Enter any community in any country, and you will find women insisting—often at great risk—on their right to an equal voice and equal access to the levers of power.

This past week, on video at the NGO Forum, Aung San Suu Kyi, said that "it is time to apply in the arena of the world the wisdom and experience" women have gained.

Let us all agree; it is time. It is time to turn bold talk into concrete action.

It is time to unleash the full capacity for production, accomplishment and the enrichment of life that is inherent to us—the women of the world.

Thank you very much.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON—REMARKS FOR THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION FORUM ON WOMEN AND HEALTH SECURITY

BEIJING, CHINA, SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Thank you, Dr. Nakajima.
Dr. Nakajima, Dr. Sadik, Gertrude Mongella, delegates to the Fourth U.N. Conference on Women, and guests from all corners of the world, I am honored to be here

this morning among women and men who are committed to improving the health of women and girls everywhere.

I commend the World Health Organization for making women's health a top priority and for establishing the Global Commission on Women's Health.

I am proud that in the preparatory meeting for this Fourth World Conference on Women, the United States took the lead in highlighting the importance of a comprehensive approach to women's health. That approach builds on actions taken at previous women's conferences and the recent conferences at Cairo and Copenhagen, whose goals to promote the health and well-being of all people were endorsed by 180 nations.

Cairo was particularly significant as governmental and non-governmental participants worked together to craft a Program for Action which, among other things, calls for universal access to good quality reproductive health care services, including safe, effective, voluntary family planning; greater access to education and health care; more responsibility on the part of men in sexual and reproductive health and childbearing; and reduction of wasteful resource consumption.

Here at this conference, improving girls and women's health is a priority of the draft Platform for Action. It includes such goals as: Access to universal primary health care for all people—a goal not yet achieved in many countries, including my own. The promotion of breast feeding. The provision of safe drinking water and sanitation. Research in and attention to women's health issues, including: environmental hazards, prevention of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, encouragement for adolescents to postpone sexual activity and childbearing, and discouragement of cultural traditions and customs that deny food and health care to girls and women.

Goals such as these illustrate a new commitment to the well-being of girls and women and a belief in their rights to live up to their own God-given potentials.

At long last, people and their governments everywhere are beginning to understand that investing in the health of women and girls is as important to the prosperity of nations as investing in the development of open markets and trade. The health of women and girls cannot be divorced from progress on other economic and social issues.

Scientists, doctors, nurses, community leaders and women themselves are working to improve and safeguard the health of women and families all over the world. If we join together as a global community, we can lift up the health and dignity of all women and their families in the remaining years of the 20th century and on into the next millennium.

Yet, for all the promise the future holds, we also know that many barriers lie in our way. For too long, women have been denied access to health care, education, economic opportunities, legal protection and human rights—all of which are used as building blocks for a healthy and productive life.

In too many places today, the health of women and families is compromised by inadequate, inaccessible and unaffordable medical care, lack of sanitation, unsafe drinking water, poor nutrition, insufficient research and education about women's health issues, and coercive and abusive sexual practices.

In too many places, the status of woman's health is a picture of human suffering and pain. The faces in that picture are of girls and women who, but for the grace of God or the accident of birth, could be us or one of our sisters, mothers or daughters.

Today, at least fifteen percent of pregnant women suffer life threatening complications and more than one-half million women

around the world die in childbirth. Most of those deaths could be prevented with basic primary, reproductive and emergency obstetric health care. In some places, there are 175,000 motherless children for every one million families. Many of those children don't survive. And of those who do, many are recruited into a life of exploitation on the streets of our world's cities, subjected daily to abuse, indignity, disease, and the specter of early death.

There must be a renewed commitment to improving maternal health. The WHO launched in 1987 a Safe Motherhood Initiative to halve maternal mortality by the year 2000. To reach that goal, more attention must be paid to emergency medical care as well as primary prenatal care. Providing emergency obstetric care is a relatively cheap way of saving lives—and along with family planning services is among the most cost effective interventions in even the poorest of countries.

The commitment of the WHO and its Global Commission on Women's Health to make childbearing and childbirth a safe and healthy period of every woman's life deserves action on the part of every nation represented here.

One hundred million women cannot obtain or are not using family planning services because they are poor, uneducated or lack access to care. Twenty million of these women will seek unsafe abortions—some will die, some will be disabled for life. A growing number of unwanted pregnancies are occurring among young women, barely beyond childhood themselves. As we know, when children have children, the chances of schooling, jobs, and good health is reduced for both parent and child. And our progress as a human family takes another step back.

The Cairo document recognizes "the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so." Women should have the right to health care that will enable them to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide them with the best chance of having a healthy infant.

Women and men must also have the right to make those most intimate of all decisions free of discrimination, coercion and violence, particularly any coercive practices that force women into abortions or sterilizations.

On these issues, the US supports the provisions in the Beijing Platform for Action that reaffirm consensus language that was agreed to at the Cairo Conference about a year ago. It declared that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning." The Platform asks governments "to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family planning services."

Violence against women remains a leading cause of death among girls and women between the ages of 14 and 44—violence from ethnic and religious conflicts, crime in the streets and brutality in the home. For women who survive the violence, what often awaits them is a life of unrelenting physical and emotional pain that destroys their capacity for mothering, homemaking or working and can lead to substance abuse, and even suicide.

Violence against girls and women goes beyond the beatings, rape, killings and forced prostitution that arise from poverty, wars and domestic conflicts. Every day, more than 5,000 young girls are forced to endure the brutal practice of genital mutilation. The procedure is painful and life-threatening. It is degrading. And it is a violation of

the physical integrity of a woman's body, leaving a lifetime of physical and emotional scars.

HIV, AIDS, and sexually transmitted diseases threaten more and more women—and experts predict that by the end of this decade more than half of the people in the world with HIV will be women. AIDS, which threatens whole families and regions, demands the strongest possible response. Governments and the international community must address head-on the growing number of women who are being infected.

More than 700,000 women worldwide face breast cancer each year—and over 300,000 die of it. It's the leading cause of death for women in their prime in the developed world. In the time I speak to you today, 25 women around the world will die of breast cancer. In my own country, it is hard to find a family, an office, or a neighborhood that has not been touched by this disease. My mother-in-law struggled against breast cancer for four years before losing her battle.

Tobacco use is the number one preventable cause of death. Ninety percent of women who smoke began to smoke as adolescents—leading to high rates of heart disease, cancer, and chronic lung disease later in life.

As the WHO points out, we also need to recognize and effectively address the fact that women are far more likely to be exposed to work-related and environmental health hazards. Policies to alleviate and eliminate such health hazards associated with work in the home and in the workplace demand action.

Research also indicates that certain communicable diseases affect women in greater numbers. Tuberculosis, for example, is responsible for the deaths of one million women each year and those in their early and reproductive years are most vulnerable.

When health care systems around the world don't work for women: when our mothers, daughters, sisters, friends and coworkers are denied access to quality care because they are poor, do not have health insurance, or simply because they are women, it is not just their health that is put at risk. It is the health of their families and communities as well.

Like many nations, the United States brings to this conference a serious commitment to improving women's health. We bring with us a series of initiatives which represent the first steps to carrying out this Conference's Platform for Action.

We are continuing to work for health care reform to ensure that every citizen has access to affordable, quality care.

We are proposing a comprehensive and coordinated plan to reduce smoking by children and adolescents by 50 percent.

We are working to address the many factors that contribute to teenage pregnancy, our most serious social problems, by encouraging abstinence and personal responsibility on the part of young men and women; improving access to health care and family planning services; and supporting health education in our schools.

We are pursuing a public policy agenda on HIV/AIDS that is specific to women, adolescents, and children.

We are continuing to fund and conduct contraceptive research and development.

We are addressing the health needs of women through initiatives such as:

The National Action Plan on Breast Cancer—a public, private partnership working with all agencies of government, the media, scientific organizations, advocacy groups and industry to advance breast health and eradicate breast cancer as a threat to the lives of American women.

An Expansion of the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program—

which will ensure that women who need regular screening and detection services have access to them, and that those services meet quality standards.

The inclusion of women in clinical trials for research and testing of drugs or other interventions that probe specific differences between men and women in patterns of disease and reactions to therapy.

The special health needs of older women will be addressed through educational campaigns about osteoporosis, cancer and other diseases.

And the US is conducting the largest clinical research study ever undertaken to examine the major causes of death, disability and frailty in post-menopausal women.

Women's health security must be a priority of all people and governments working together. Without good health, a woman's God-given potential can never be realized. And without healthy women, the world's potential can never be realized.

So let us join together to ensure that every little boy and girl that comes into our world is healthy and wanted, that every young woman has the education and economic opportunity to live a healthy life; and that every woman has access to the health care she needs throughout her life to fulfill her potential in her family, her work, and her community.

If we care about the futures of our daughters, our sons, and the generations that will follow them, we can do nothing less.

Thank you for the work you do every day to bring better health to the women, children, and families of this world. Thank you for helping governments and citizens around the world understand that we cannot talk about equality and social development without also talking about health care.

Most of all, thank you for being part of this historic and vital discussion, which holds so much promise for our future.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON—REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

BEIJING, CHINA, SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Mrs. Mongella, distinguished delegates and guests:

I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration—a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life; in the home, on the job, in their communities, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world—and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and

human rights and participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe . . . Let them look at the woman gathered here and at Heirou. . . the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum, where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local—and highly successful—programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet has a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Jojakarta, Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of the Western Hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children of their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70 percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet

much of the work we do is not valued—not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the ballot box and the bank lending office.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country—women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or child care, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves. . . for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace. . . for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids . . . and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments—here and around the world—accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged—and recently affirmed at Vienna—that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated. Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eye of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is

time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Hairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the rights to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights. . . . And women's rights are human rights.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend—or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote. It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

We have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and build a better world.

We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war.

But we have not solved older, deeply-rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too. Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world—as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes—the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our—and the world's—call to action.

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

Thank you very much.

God's blessing on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.

THE B-2 BOMBER AND AMERICA'S READINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EVERETT). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DICKS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, today I want to address the House of Representatives in this special order on a very important issue that will come before the House tomorrow morning, tomorrow afternoon, when we consider the defense appropriations bill. Since 1980, I have been a strong supporter of the policy of former President Carter and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in initiating the stealth bomber, the B-2 program.

In the gulf war, we saw with vivid evidence the effectiveness of stealth technology when it was decided to use the F-117's against the most heavily defended targets inside Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The F-117's, without the requirement for jammers and other support aircraft, were able to go in and attack the most heavily defended targets, using 2,000 pound precision-guided munitions. They were able to knock out those radars and surface to air missiles almost instantly, and come back without out pilots being shot down.

I believe that the B-2 bomber is just a bigger and better version of the F-117. It allows us to go five times as far and carry eight times as much conventional munitions and submunitions. With those same 2,000 pounds, it could carry 16, each of which would be independently targetable.

I think the most revolutionary thing about stealth technology is its capability against mobile targets. In a B-2 study that was done by Rand back in 1991, a simulation was used of Saddam Hussein's division, moving from Saudi Arabia into Kuwait. The B-2 was loaded up with sensor-fused weapons. Each B-2 could carry about 1,400 of these submunitions that looks like a puck with a parachute on top when dispensed. With Saddam's division coming

into Kuwait, three B-2's interdicted it, dropped the sensor-fused weapons, and were able to knock out 46 percent of the mechanized vehicles including tanks in that division. That, Mr. Speaker, is a revolutionary conventional capability.

The problem is that every study that has been done on the B-2 indicates that having only 16 of them is simply not enough. The Rand study and the study that was done by Gen. Jasper Welch, stated that somewhere between 40 and 60 are needed. I in fact asked General Powell what he recommended to Dick Cheney, and he said, "I recommended 50."

In my judgment, this is the most important defense decision we will be making in this decade. Seven former Secretaries of Defense wrote President Clinton urging him to procure additional B-2's. We have spent \$44.4 billion to develop the technology for the B-2 bomber. We are now able to get an additional 20 B-2's for about \$15.3 billion. In my mind, that is affordable. If we shut down the line, and if we come back to it in 5 or 10 years and say, "My gosh, we do not have the bombers we need for the future," it will cost \$10 billion just to open the line and we get nothing.

My judgment is that there is another important issue that has been missed by the press. That is the cost of the munitions on these planes. If we have standoff weapons, which the administration supports, on the B-52's and the B-1-B's, first of all, they have no utility against mobile targets. No. 2, is that they cost \$1.2 million per missile, because you have to have long-range missiles. They also cost about \$15 to \$20 billion for a load of them.

The cost of the weapons in the B-2 J-DAMS weapon is \$320,000 for 16 of them, and in my judgment, that is a major difference, one-fourth the cost of one cruise missile and a fraction of the cost of a load of missiles. In a few days of a major conflict, you could pay for the B-2 simply by having these less expensive weapons, either the sensor-fused weapon or the J-DAMS. I think that is a major difference. I also believe, if we had enough B-2's, the potential someday for a conventional deterrent.

What if we had been able to show Saddam that we had this capability and we could have avoided the gulf war? It cost us \$10 billion to move all our forces out to the gulf. Then it cost \$60 billion to prosecute the war, \$70 billion was expended.

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The cold war is over, yet we still have threats out there. People say there are no threats. Saddam still exists. We have problems with Iran, we have problems with North Korea. And in each of those scenarios, there could be military divisions coming across the borders into a neighboring country.

In my judgment, having this long-range stealth bomber capability that can go in without any other support